

Media Lengua

Media Lengua, also known as *Chaupi-shimi*, *Chaupi-lengua*, *Chaupi-Quichua*, *Quichuañol*, *Chapu-shimi* or *llanga-shimi*,^{[nb 1][4]} (roughly translated to "half language" or "in-between language") is a mixed language with Spanish vocabulary and Kichwa grammar, most conspicuously in its morphology. In terms of vocabulary, almost all lexemes (89%^{[1][5]}), including core vocabulary, are of Spanish origin and appear to conform to Kichwa phonotactics. Media Lengua is one of the few widely acknowledged examples of a "bilingual mixed language" in both the conventional and narrow linguistic sense because of its split between roots and suffixes.^{[6][7]} Such extreme and systematic borrowing is only rarely attested, and Media Lengua is not typically described as a variety of either Kichwa or Spanish. Arends et al., list two languages subsumed under the name *Media Lengua*: Salcedo Media Lengua and Media Lengua of Saraguro.^[8] The northern variety of Media Lengua, found in the province of Imbabura, is commonly referred to as Imbabura Media Lengua^{[2][9]} and more specifically, the dialect varieties within the province are known as Pijal Media Lengua and Angla Media Lengua.^[1]

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Media Lengua
Quichuañol
Chaupi-shimi/ Media Lengua
Native to Ecuador
Region Imbabura Cotopaxi
Ethnicity Cayambe (Imbabura Media Lengua)
Native speakers ~2,600 (2005, 2011) ^{[1][2]}
Language family mixed Kichwa– Spanish
Language codes
ISO 639-3 mue (Salcedo Media Lengua)
Glottolog medi1245 (http://glottolog.org/resource/language/id/medi1245) ^[3]



Geographical distribution

Media Lengua was first documented in Salcedo, Cotopaxi about 100 km south of Quito, Ecuador, by Dutch linguist Pieter Muysken during fieldwork on Ecuadorian Kichwa.^[5] During Muysken's surveys of the language, he also described other highly relexified varieties of Kichwa, including Amazonian Pidgin, Kichwa-Spanish interlanguage, Saraguro Media Lengua, and Catalangu.^[5] A 2011 investigation of Salcedo Media Lengua, however, suggests that the language is no longer spoken by the locals in and around Salcedo Canton.^[10] Little is known about the current status of the other relexified varieties of Kichwa described by Muysken. Several investigations from 2005, 2008, and 2011, however, show that a variety of Media Lengua is currently being spoken in the northern province of Imbabura.^{[1][2][9]} The investigations estimate that Imbabura Media Lengua is spoken by 2,600 people, 600 in the

community of Pijal aged 35 and roughly 2,000 in and around the community of Angla, typically 25–45 years of age, making Media Lengua an endangered language and moribund in Pijal.^{[1][2]} The variety of Media Lengua that is spoken in Pijal appears to have emerged at the beginning of the 20th century and had its first generation of native speakers in the 1910s.^[1] Pijal Media Lengua then spread to the nearby community of Angla in the 1950s and the 1960s through intercommunity marriages^[1] and commerce.^[9] The current status of Media Lengua in Angla appears to be slightly healthier than in Pijal with the Angla variety having been passed on, to an extent, to the 2008 generation of schoolaged children.^[2]

0:00 / 0:00

This audio clip is a brief sample of the Media Lengua language spoken in Pijal, Imbabura, Ecuador. The recording was produced during an elicitation session where the speaker was asked for an oral translation of Spanish sentences. The audio clip contains subtitles in English, Kichwa, Spanish, French, Italian and Portuguese. Media Lengua is also available, but Wiki subtitles currently has no language code for this language.

Origins

Several theories exist concerning the origins of Media Lengua. According to Muysken, Salcedo Media Lengua emerged through ethnic self-identification for indigenous populations, who no longer identified with either the rural Kichwa or the urban Spanish cultures.^[5] Gómez-Rendón claims Angla Media Lengua arose through prolonged contact between the Kichwa-speaking indigenous populations with the Mestizo Spanish speaking populations.^[9] Dikker believes Media Lengua was created by men who left their native communities to work in urban Spanish speaking areas. When the men returned to the communities, they had acquired a fluent level of Spanish and had been using Kichwa infrequently. Media Lengua then served as a link between the older monolingual Kichwa-speaking generation and younger monolingual Spanish speaking generations.^[11] Finally, Stewart claims that Media Lengua was either brought to Pijal from Salcedo or vice versa. He bases these claims on the "striking resemblance" between the Pijal and Salcedo varieties at both the phonological and the morphological level. The claim also includes testimonies of a large migration from Cotopaxi to Pijal at the beginning of the 20th century, which can be seen in the many Cotopaxi surnames in community.^[1] Most researchers agree, however, that Media Lengua developed linguistically through various processes of lexification (relexification,^[5] adlexification^[10] and translexification^[12]) in a relatively short period of time.

Vitality

Jarrín (2014) investigated sociolinguistic aspects of Media Lengua in the communities of Angla, Uscha, Casco-Valenzuela, and El Topo in the Province of Imbabura. With a series of surveys and interviews regarding language attitude and language usage, a complex linguistic environment emerged which changes from community to community. In the more urban communities of Angla and Casco-Valenzuela, Media Lengua is preferred and Quichua appears to be losing ground.^[13] In the more rural communities of Uscha and El Topo, Kichwa is still preferred and the usage of Media Lengua is frowned upon. Jarrín (2014) also reports that there are also cases of children acquiring Media Lengua from their parents and grandparents, which is not the case in Pijal. In Pijal speakers of Media Lengua are typically aged 35 and above, those aged 20–35 typically have a passive knowledge of the language, and speakers aged 20 and younger are often monolingual in Spanish. Estimates of the number of speakers vary widely. In Pijal, there is an estimated 300 to 500 speakers while in the communities of Angla, Uscha, Casco-Valenzuela, and El Topo, there may be as many 2000+ speakers.

Phonology

Consonants

Words of Spanish origin often appear to conform to Kichwa phonotactics. However, voiced obstruents, which exist phonologically only as stops in a post-sonorant environment in Kichwa,^[14] appear phonemically as minimal pairs or near minimal pairs in Media Lengua through Spanish borrowings:

Kichwa [-sonorant] → [+voice]/[+sonorant]

Voiced Obstruents Borrowed from Spanish^[1]

Voiceless	Voiceless
/batea/ batea "recipient"	/patea/ patea "kick"
/dos/ dos "two"	/tos/ tos "cough"
/gasa/ gaza "gauze"	/kasa/ casa "house"

Another phonological difference between Media Lengua and Kichwa is that Media Lengua often does not take into account the voicing rule.^{[1][2][5]}

Kichwa Voicing Rule Elimination

Kichwa	Media Lengua
Voiced	Voiceless
/ñukaga/ ñuka-ka "I-TOP"	/joka/ ^[nb 2] yo-ka "I-TOP"
/kanda/ kanta "you-ACC"	/asadonta/ asadon-ta "hoe-ACC"
/manuelba/ Manuel-pak "Manuel-POSS"	/manuelpa/ Manuel-pak "Manuel-POSS ^[5]

However, in certain instances, especially regarding verbal inflections, the Kichwa voicing rule is preserved.^[2]

Voicing Rule Preservation

Kichwa	Media Lengua
Voiced	Voiced
/tʃaringi/ chari-nki "have-2s.pres"	/tiningi/ tiningui "have-2s.pres"
/kil kangapa/ killka-nkapak "write-same.subject.subjunctive"	/eskribingapa/ escribi-ngapa "same.subject.subjunctive" ^[1]

Other Spanish borrowings

- Labial [+/-continuant] contrast (/f/ vs. /p/)^[1]

(1) /fuer ʃte/ fuerte "Strong" vs. /pue r ʃta/ puerta "door"

Kichwa influences

- Spanish intervocalic /s/ becomes /z/ in Media Lengua.^[1]

(2) Spanish /kasa/ casa "house" becomes Media Lengua /kaza/ casa "house"

- Spanish /r/ becomes Media Lengua /z/.^[15]

(3) Spanish /karol/ carro "car" becomes /kazol/.

- Spanish /ʎ/ becomes Media Lengua /ʒ/.^[15]

(4) Spanish /poʎo/ pollo "chicken" becomes /poʒo/.

A number of lexical items in both the Salcedo and Imbabura varieties maintain Spanish preservations from the Colonial period; most notably word initial /x/. **Archaic Spanish preservation of /x/**

Salcedo Media Lengua ^[5]	Imbabura Media Lengua ^[1]	Modern Ecuadorian Spanish	Colonial Era Spanish
[xabas]	[xabas]	[abas]	*[xabas]
[xondo]	[xondo]	[ondo]	*[xondo]
[xazienda]	[azinda]	[asienda]	*[xasienda]

(*)=reconstruction

IPA Chart (Imbabura Media Lengua)^[1] Common allophones are marked in brackets([]) and affricates are presented under the place of final articulation.

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Alveolar	Postalveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Nasal	m		n			ŋ	[ŋ]		
Stop	p b		t d	tʃ			k g		
Fricative	[β] φ		s [z]	ʃ ʒ	χ		x	[χ]	[h]
Approximant						j	w		
Lateral			l						
Tap			r						

Vowels

There are several competing views regarding the number and types of vowels in Media Lengua. One theory suggests Salcedo Media Lengua, like Kichwa, maintains three vowels [i], [u] and [a], with the occasional Spanish preservation of [e] and [o] in names, interjections and in stressed positions.^[5] Under that theory, all other Spanish borrowings assimilate to the Kichwa system. Another theory suggests that Imbabura Media Lengua passes through a three-step process of assimilation and words can maintain Spanish phonotactics [kabeza] *cabeza* 'head', undergo partial assimilation [kabisa] *cabeza* or (3) undergo complete assimilation [kabiza] *cabeza*. This theory also suggests that high-frequency words also tend to undergo complete assimilation, but low-frequency do not.^[9] Finally, acoustic evidence supports the claim that Media Lengua could be dealing with as many as eight vowels: Spanish-derived [i, a, u], which exist as extreme mergers with Kichwa-derived [i, a, u], and Spanish-derived [e] and [o], which exist as partial mergers with Kichwa [i] and [u], respectively.^[16]

Spanish diphthongs also exist with various degrees of assimilation in both Media Lengua dialects. The diphthong /ue/ is sometimes pronounced as /u/, /wi/ or /i/; Spanish /ui/ is pronounced /u/; Spanish /ie/ is pronounced as /i/; and Spanish /ai/, is maintained from Kichwa.^{[1][5]}

Salcedo Media Lengua^[5]

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i		u
Open		a	

Imbabura Media Lengua - Theory 1^[9]

	<u>Front</u>	<u>Central</u>	<u>Back</u>
<u>Close</u>	i		u
<u>Mid</u>	e		o
<u>Open</u>		a	
Spanish-derived vowels appear in green.			
Kichwa-derived vowels appear in blue.			

Imbabura Media Lengua - Theory 2^[16]

	<u>Front</u>	<u>Central</u>	<u>Back</u>
<u>Close</u>	i		u
<u>High Mid</u>	e		o
<u>Open</u>		a	
Spanish-derived vowels appear in green.			
Kichwa-derived vowels appear in blue.			

There is also evidence of sonorant devoicing between voiceless obstruents, which affects the realization of pitch accents that fall on devoiced syllables (see the following section).

[+sonorant]→[-voice]/[-sonorant] ____ [-sonorant]^[17]
 [-voice] [-voice]

(1) *Vosteka tuyu casapika.*^[17]
 [bos.te ka tu.ju ka.za.pi ka]→[bos.te ka tu.ju ka.za.pi ka]
 "[What do] you [have planted] at your house?"

Prosody

According to Muysken (1997), like Kichwa, stress is penultimate in Media Lengua. Stewart (2015), referring to stress as *pitch accent* (PA), provides a similar analysis pointing towards the realization of a low-high pitch accent (L+H*) taking place at the prosodic word level on, leading up to, or just after the penultimate syllable of a word. In the majority of cases, an L+H* pitch accent on the penultimate syllable describes word level prosody (see example 1).

(1) L+H* L+H* L+H* L%^[17]
Papasuka wawakunawanmi colerahurka.
 "Father was angry with the children."

In certain cases, however, a simple high (H*) may appear when the PA follows the penultimate syllable of a disyllabic word or when a voiceless onset appears in the penultimate syllable (see example 2). In both cases, Stewart (2015) suggests that is caused since there is no material to bear the preaccental rise, which would otherwise be realized as a typical L+H* PA.

(2) H* L+H* L%^[17]

Bela quemajun.

"The candle is burning."

Media Lengua also appears to mark emphasis at the prosodic word level with a substantial increase in pitch frequency on one or more words in an utterance (L+^H*) (see example 3). Pitch accents may also appear in a stair step-like pattern in utterances containing reduplication where the low (L) on the second instance of the reduplicated pair is often undershot. In the first instance of the reduplicated pair, a standard L+H* appears while in the second instances an emphatic L+^H% PA takes place where the L may be undershot (see example 4).

(3) L+H* L+^H* L+H* L+^H* L+H* L+H* L+^H* L%^[17]

Y alotro diaka vuelta otro bastanteta llevashpa, escondidito mio mamamanta llevashpa inkarkachi.

"And on the following day, we would go bringing another bunch [of beans] hidden from my mom."

(4) L+H* L+H* L+^H* L+H* L- H* H* H%^[17]

Diaymanta wachu wachu buscashka dezin uno cañata.

"So, they say she looked all over the plot of land, for a stick that is."

Stewart (2015) also describes instances of intermediate boundaries appearing as a single low tone (L-). These are often observed in standard content questions (wh-questions) following the utterance-initial question constituent or in some cases after words containing an emphatic PA (see example 5).^[17] There is also evidence of intermediate boundary tones in the form of pitch restart which take place in listing intonation just before the listing of items begins.

(5) L+H* L- L%^[17]

Quienpatak ese pelota?

"Whose ball is that?"

The intonational phrase in Media Lengua (the highest level unit within the autosegmental-metrical framework^[18]) is marked by a low boundary tone (L%) at the end of nearly every utterance (see examples 1, 2, 3, and 5).^[17] An exception to the configuration can be found in what Stewart (2015) refers to as *clarifying* utterances, which are marked with a high boundary tone (H%) (see example 4). Clarifying utterances in Media Lengua are used in three typical scenarios: (1) to clarify that a topic within a conversation is shared by those speaking, (2) to provide information which was accidentally left out of the main clause, and (3) provide the listener with additional information.^[17]

Morphology

Media Lengua, like Kichwa, is a highly agglutinative language. Its normal sentence order is SOV (subject-object-verb). There are a large number of suffix changes both in the overall significance of words and their meanings. Of the 63 particles in Kichwa, Imbabura Media Lengua makes use of 49;^[9] an estimated 80% of the original Kichwa morphemes. The derivation and inflectional particles appear to be in complete functioning order in the same way they are found in Ecuadorian Kichwa.^[9]

(1) **y mientras trabaja-shpa-ndu primer año estudia-rka-ni^[9]**

and while work-GER-GER first year study-PRET-1s

"And while I worked the first year, I studied."

Media Lengua Particles^{[2][nb 3]}

Suffix	Function
Objects	
-wa	1s. <u>OBJ</u>
-ri	3s. <u>IDO</u>
Temporal Aspects	
-na	Durative/ <u>Infinitive</u>
-gri	Ingressive
-shka	Past Participle
-shpa	Same Subject Gerund
-kpi	Different Subject Subordinator
-k	Habitual/ Agent
-i	Nominal/ Verbal infinitive
Auxiliaries	
-n	Euphonic
Atemporal Aspects	
-ri	Reflexive
Casuals	
-shina	Comparative
-kama	Terminative
-man	Allative/ Dative
-manta	Ablative/ Causal
-ta	Accusative/ Adverbial/ Prolative
-pak	Benefactive/ Genitive
-pi	Locative
-wan	Instrumental/ Comitative
Conjunctives	
-ndi(n)	Inclusive/ Comitative
-pura	Conjunctive
-pish/-pash	Additive
-tak	Contrastive
Derived Qualitatives	
-pacha	Superlative
Derived Quantitives	
-sapa	Augmentative
-siki	Exceditive? /Pejorative/Exaggeration
-pish/-pash	Additive
Derived Radicals	
-mu	Cislocative
-ku	Reflexive/ Progressive
-ri	Reflexive

-chi	Causative
-naku	Reciprocal
-pura	Conjunctive
-gri	Ingressive
-ngakaman	Terminative Verb Marker
-ngapa(k)	Propositive/ Benefactive
Evidential Clitics	
-ka	Topic
-mi/-ma	Focus/ Validator
Specific Clitics	
-lla	Limitative
-ra(k)	Continuative
Modals	
-man	Conditional
-na	FUT Obligative (http://www.sil.org/linguistics/GlossaryOfLinguisticTerms/WhatIsObligativeMood.htm)
Operators	
-chu	Interrogative
-chu	Negation
Personal Verb Markers	
-ni	1s.PRES
-ngi	2s.PRES
-n	3s.PRES
-nchi(k)	1p.PRES
-ngichi(k)	2p.PRES
-n(kuna)	3p.PRES
Personal Temporal Verb Markers	
-sha	1s.FUT
-shun	1p.FUT
-ngi	2s.FUT
-ngichi(k)	2p.FUT
-nga	3s.FUT
-n(kuna)	3s.FUT
-i	2s.imperative
-ichi(k)	2p.imperative
-shun	Exclusive Exhortative
-shunchik	Inclusive Exhortative
Pluralizer	
-kuna	Plural
Possessives	
-pa(k)	Alienable Possessive

-yuk	Inalienable Possessive
Pragmatic Evidentials	
-chari	Dubitative
-shi	Supposition
-karin	Exceditive Affirmation
-mari	Confirmative Affirmation
Temporal	
-k	Habitual Preterite
-rka	Simple Preterite
-shka	Perfective/ Past Participle

Writing

Jilana in Media Lengua, Spanish, and English:^[19]

Media Lengua	Spanish	English
Jilana	Hilando	Spinning Wool
Jilashpa borregota treskilashpa lavankarkanchi lavashpa tisashpa. Vuelta unomi cardashpa unomi palogopi amarrashpa jilashpa andankarkanchi centuraspi metishpa. Asi ponchota azingapa kosaman, anacota azingapa suedraman, ponchota azingapa suedroman, anacota nuestroman asi jilay jilay andankarkanchi. Diaymanta, jilay jilay shayajushpapi vuelta camizata cozinkarkanchi manopi. Manopi cozishpa ponikushpa vivinchi ahorakaman. Asi manopi cozinchi ondipi mingakunapi sesionkunapi sentakushpa cozinajunchi camizata. Ahoraka jilaytaka ya no jilanchichu. Camizata mas cozinchi ahoraka, camizata mas que dinocheckuna cozishpa sentanajunchi, mingaykunaman ishpa.	Para hilar lana comenzamos trasquilando una oveja, sigue el lavado y luego se tisa la lana, se envuelve muy firme en un palo que se lo pone en nuestra cintura, entonces podemos seguir hilando alrededor. Con esta lana hacíamos un poncho para nuestro esposo y para nuestro suegro y un anaco para la suegra. Después, cansadas de hilar, también bordábamos como hoy en día las camisas a mano. Por lo general se borda una camisa en cualquier lugar, por ejemplo: durante las mingas o en las reuniones. Hoy en día ya no hilamos a mano las camisas, estas vienen bordadas.	To spin wool, we begin by shearing the sheep, washing the wool and removing the pulling. We then make taut the wool by wrapping it around a stick that we keep in the sash around our waist. This way we can go about spinning, for example, a poncho for our husbands, an anaco for our mothers-in-law or a poncho for our fathers-in-law. After we get tired of spinning, we might switch to a shirt and sew by hand. Even today it's still common to sew by hand. We will sew basically anywhere. Often, during <i>mingas</i> or meetings, we will sit and work on a shirt.

Notes

1. *Llanga-shimi* is typically a derogatory term used by Kichwa-speakers to describe their language. However, it also appears to describe Media Lengua in the Imbabura Communities. It is believed that the term was introduced by Mestizo schoolteachers to discredit the indigenous populations
2. Unlike Imbabura Media Lengua, Salcedo Media Lengua preserves the Kichwa voicing rule in the topic marker -ka
3. The literature shows a wide range of variation regarding the functions of the particles in this table. Unless otherwise referenced, this list is based on Gómez-Rendón 2008.

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External links

- Georg Bossong on mixed languages, including Media Lengua (in German) (https://web.archive.org/web/20060527094142/http://www.rose.unizh.ch/seminar/personen/bossong/boss_gsatz_01.pdf)
- Article by Pieter Muysken on Root/Affix asymmetries in contact transfer including Media Lengua (http://web.archive.org/web/20150924121605/http://www.ru.nl/publish/pages/632031/root_affix_asymmetries.pdf)
- Marco Shappeck's PhD dissertation on Quichua-Spanish contact in Salcedo (https://www.ideals.illinois.edu/bitstream/handle/2142/24334/Shappeck_Marco.pdf?sequence=1)
- Jesse Stewart's MA thesis describing Imbabura Media Lengua and an acoustic analysis of vowel production in Quichua and Media Lengua (https://www.academia.edu/3745262/A_brief_descriptive_grammar_of_Pijal_Media_Lengua_and_an_acoustic_vowel_space_analysis_of_Pijal_Media_Lengua_and_Imbabura_Quichua)
- A comparative analysis of Media Lengua and Quichua vowel production by Jesse Stewart (<https://www.karger.com/Article/Abstract/369629>)
- Stories and Traditions from Pijal: Told in Media Lengua by Jesse Stewart (https://www.amazon.com/Cuentos-Tradiciones-Pijal-Relatos-Traditions/dp/0615906338/ref=sr_1_1?ie=UTF8&qid=1400609234&sr=8-1&keywords=Media+Lengua)
- LA MEZCLA DE QUECHUA Y CASTELLANO El caso de la "media lengua" en el Ecuador by Pieter Muysken (in Spanish) (<http://www.revistas.pucp.edu.pe/index.php/lexis/article/download/4665/4667>)
- Estereotipos Lingüísticos en Relación al Kichwa y a la Media Lengua en las Comunidades de Angla, Casco Valenzuela, El Topo y Ucsha de la Parroquia San Pablo del Lago by Gabriela Jarrín (in

Spanish) (https://www.academia.edu/10162949/Estereotipos_Ling%C3%BC%C3%ADsticos_en_relaci%C3%B3n_al_kichwa_y_a_la_media_lengua..)

- La Media Lengua de Imbabura by Jorge Gómez-Rendón (in Spanish) (<http://www.geocities.ws/gomezrendon/LAMEDIALENQUADEIMBABURArev.doc>)
- Intonational patterns in Pijal Media Lengua by Jesse Stewart (http://weebly-file/1/8/8/0/18807788/stewart_jesse_--2015--_intonation_patterns_in_pijal_media_lengua.pdf)

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